

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. —James Monroe

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Big Issues Confront Allied Governments

Harmony Threatened by Russian and British Policies on European Continent

BACKGROUND OF DISPUTES STUDIED

Polish Boundary Line, Greek and Italian Governments Are Major Controversies

Many people have thought that boundary disputes and all kinds of problems affecting the liberated and conquered countries could wait until the war is over. Win the war first, it is frequently said, and then tackle the questions we will meet in Poland, Greece, the Balkans, the Baltic countries, Italy, Belgium, and other nations which have been badly shaken by the war. This argument has been advanced with even greater force as a result of the great German offensive which has shown how necessary it is that the Allies work together in an all-out effort to win the war.

But whether we like it or not, some of these reconstruction problems are thrusting themselves before us, and two of the Allies—Russia and Great Britain—are taking action about them. These acts on the part of our Allies have stirred up bitter controversy. In certain instances, differences of opinion as to what should be done have developed. There have been sharp and bitter debates in the British Parliament, in our own Congress, and in the newspapers in Great Britain and America. It is highly important, therefore, that the facts bearing upon these issues should be calmly studied. Facts relating to the Polish, Greek, and Italian problems follow:

Polish-Russian dispute: Allied unity has been disturbed for months by the boundary dispute between Russia and Poland. This controversy has its roots deep in the past. Before America was discovered, the Russians and Poles were pushing each other back and forth across the flat lands over which they are still arguing. About four centuries ago the victorious Poles had spread their rule as far eastward as Smolensk. A hundred years later the Russians had driven them back beyond the borders now in dispute. After that the Poles grew weak and about 150 years ago their lands were divided among the Prussians, the Russians, and the Austrians.

From the time of the Napoleonic Wars until the First World War, a period of more than 100 years, Poland did not exist as an independent nation. The greater part of the territory included in the Polish state created after the last war was in the possession of Russia.

During the First World War, Russia was defeated by Germany and then Germany was beaten by the three great Allies—the United States, Great

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To Unaccustomed Heights

By Walter E. Myer

We shall pass this year through dangerous times, times that call for extreme measures of personal sacrifice and devotion. We are in the midst of a desperate war. A few months ago, most people thought that it was in its final phases and that victory would soon be ours. Unfortunately, events have taken an unexpected and an ominous turn, and we must rise to unaccustomed heights of patriotism. We must learn to act heroically if the war is to be won and if a secure and happy future for our country is to be guaranteed. Grim times are ahead of us, and each citizen, young and old, must render full service to the nation.

Our loyalty must extend beyond national lines. We must help to preserve the unity of the nations which are associated together in the great war for freedom and for civilization. That unity has been disturbed at the very time it was needed most. While the Germans were driving through our lines in Western Europe, the ties which held the great Allies together were being weakened. In part, they were weakened by the blunders of certain of the nations which are associated with us. But for the disharmony which has prevailed, we ourselves have been in part to blame. When differences of opinion developed as to some of the acts of our Russian and British Allies, there was a bitter debate in Congress, and our Allies were attacked as harshly as if they had been our enemies.

If there was ever a time when people should be calm and thoughtful and considerate, that time is the present. Some of our Allies may not be acting in all particulars exactly as we should like them to act. Neither are we pleasing them in all matters of policy. But we should remember that if there is to be unity, there must be compromise. No nation can have its way in all things. We must remember where the greatest danger to our country lies. We must keep in mind our primary objective, which is the winning of the war, and we must find a way to work loyally with the nations who are engaged in the great enterprise along with us. We must remember, too, that after the war is over, there is absolutely no prospect of permanent peace unless the three great Allied nations work harmoniously together. In a spirit of humility and understanding, therefore, we must work for harmony among these powers.

Each citizen should guard his words carefully to see that he says nothing which will disturb Allied harmony. Careless emotional outbursts on the part of individuals help to build public opinion, and it is essential that public opinion stand behind the united Allied effort. Students, as well as older citizens, may help to build public opinion which will support, rather than impede, the harmony of the United Nations. Let each student resolve that during the year 1945, he will study international issues tirelessly and thoughtfully, and that his influence will be used in behalf of understanding and cooperation.

American Policy in European Disputes

Events Indicate that Decisions Cannot Well Be Postponed Until End of War

CONTROVERSY ON U. S. POSITION

Need for Strong Stand Seen If Allied Unity Is to Be Maintained to Keep Peace

Elsewhere in this paper, we discuss the Polish-Russian boundary dispute, British intervention in the Greek civil war, and British intervention in the political affairs of Italy. These are very important developments which may affect Allied harmony in the war effort, and which more certainly will affect the peace settlements which will follow the war. In the following article, we will explain American policy with respect to these issues, together with arguments relative to what our policy ought to be.

First we may consider the Polish-Russian boundary question. About one-third of prewar Poland is involved in the dispute. Russia has occupied this territory and says that it is hers. The Polish government-in-exile claims it for Poland. The Russians will not talk things over with the government-in-exile. They hold the territory and say they will continue to hold it. What should the United States do about it?

Possible Answers

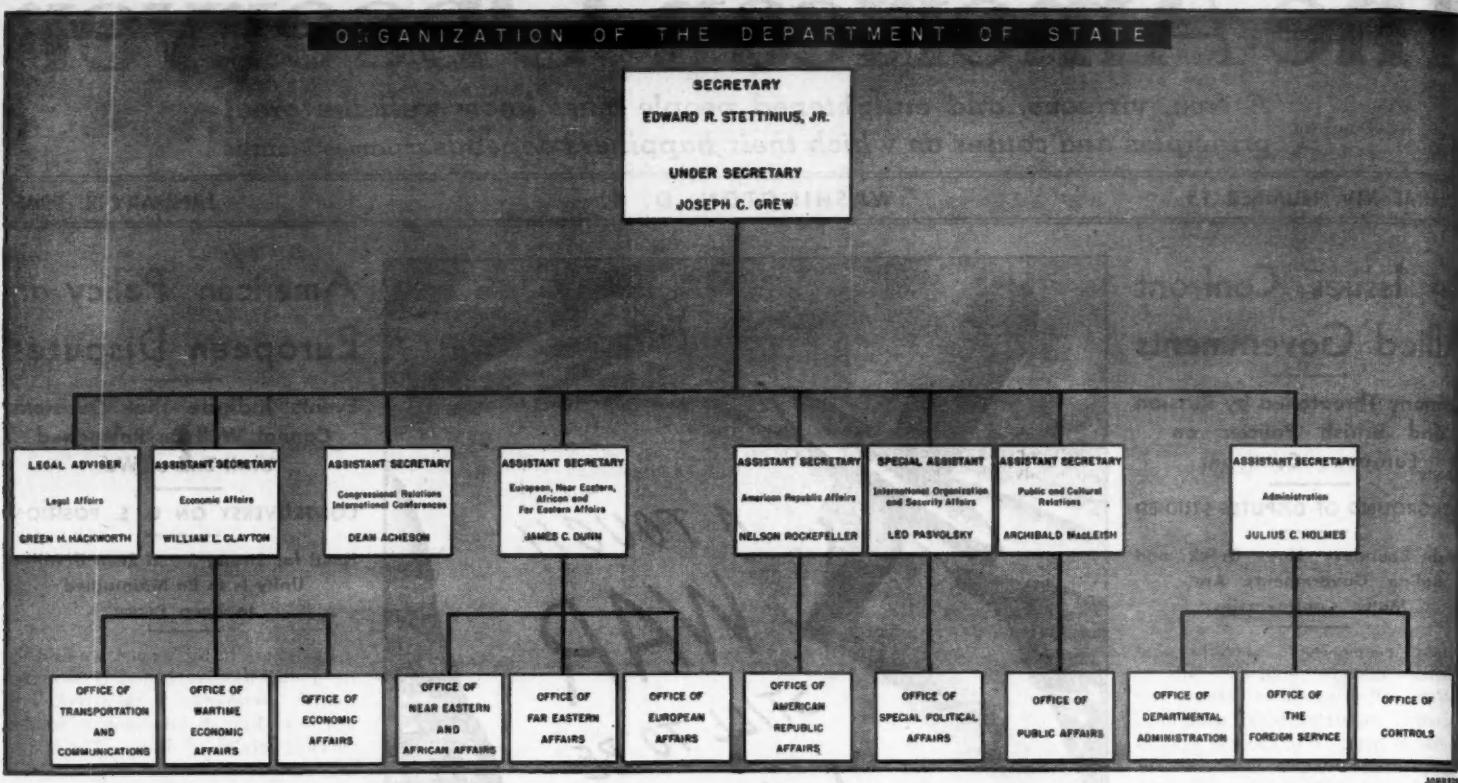
When the question came before our State Department, two possible answers could have been given. One may be termed the cynical position, and the other the idealistic. The cynical point of view could have been stated in this way:

"Russia has taken this territory and will not negotiate about it. If we protest, our protest will be futile. There is nothing that we can do to help the Poles, so we might as well accept what has been done."

"Furthermore, we are engaged in a desperate and dangerous war. We need all the help we can get in order to win it. Russia can help us more than Poland can, so we had better side with her, as Great Britain has done, or at least keep quiet about it. Our first and most important objective is to win the war, and we must adopt a policy which will result in obtaining the greatest possible assistance."

There is much to be said for this position and also much to be said against it. The Atlantic Charter, which all the United Nations agreed to support, declares that no nation should seek to obtain territory without the consent of the people living in that territory. If we throw that promise aside in order to win the war, the war will have lost much of its moral meaning. It will seem that we are not fighting for principles or for

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United States Department of State

NEVER before in our history as a nation have we been so intimately concerned with the problems of other nations as we are today. Never have we been in a position to influence their actions as powerfully as we must in the future. During the days, months, and years ahead foreign affairs will grow in importance to such an extent that the conduct of those affairs will have a direct bearing upon the well-being of all Americans. It may mean the difference between living a peaceful life in our own homes and sacrificing our lives or the lives of those close to us in even more destructive wars than the present one.

Great Responsibilities

Today the responsibilities of the State Department, which directs our foreign relations, are increasing greatly. The decisions made or carried out there can help or hinder our armed forces in their struggle to end the war as soon as possible. The future peace of the world hinges to a large extent on our foreign policy. Freedom to buy from and sell to the nations of the world, which will affect the number of jobs available in industry, and consequently the standard of living which we can expect, may be determined by the action of our State Department. Whether the people of the world organize their governments along democratic lines and live as free men or give up the struggle and place themselves under the rule of dictators may be decided in many instances by our use of the huge physical and moral power we have built up during the war.

The presence of our armies and our navy all over the globe is one indication of our concern with world problems. There is no longer any question as to whether or not we want to be concerned. Scientific discoveries—*inventions such as the airplane, radio, and telephone, fast ocean liners, and rocket bombs* have multiplied our contacts with the people of other continents and changed the nature of those contacts. Poland's boundaries, and the

freedom of the people of Greece, Italy, and Belgium to organize their own governments thus become problems in which we have a vital interest.

In order to meet and carry out its new responsibilities, the Department of State is undergoing an extensive reorganization. The six new secretaries appointed by the President last month, and confirmed, after careful questioning, by the Senate, will share with the secretary of state duties in wide fields of world affairs which will affect the lives of all of us.

The task which faces them is a far cry from that undertaken by Thomas Jefferson in 1789, when as our first secretary of state he directed a department consisting of five clerks, three ministers, and a consular corps of 16. There were only four foreign diplomatic representatives resident in the United States at that time. The State Department's duties were few and simple—to look after the safety and well-being of the relatively few Americans abroad and their possessions, to answer complaints of foreign governments about the acts of our government or of Americans in foreign countries, and to perform certain purely domestic functions.

In those days it was possible to say truthfully, as George Washington did in his farewell address, that "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation," and to rely on what he called "our detached and distant situation" which made it possible for us to ignore European problems.

Washington was evaluating the position of the United States in the world in which he lived. We must be equally honest in seeing our position in the world in which we are living today. Revolutionary changes have taken place in the world, placing heavy responsibilities upon our State Department. Worldwide attention will be focused upon the department as a result of the vast scope of its activities. It is important, therefore, that we become thoroughly familiar with its powers and duties and its organization.

Under our system of government, the President is given great powers in the conduct of foreign policy and in dealing with foreign nations. The State Department is the agency through which he acts in carrying out these duties. As pointed out last week, he may take the leadership in directing foreign relations or he may place the responsibility largely in the hands of his secretary of state. In either case, the State Department plays a vital role in the conduct of foreign affairs, for it is the instrument through which the President acts in exercising many of his vast powers.

The President nominates the secretary of state and other high-ranking officials in the department, although the latter may be selected by the secretary. He controls the foreign service in that he makes appointments to higher positions and has the power to remove diplomatic and consular officers at any time. He may also refuse to recognize diplomats from other countries or request the recall of those to whom he objects. The secretary of state, besides directing the conduct of our foreign relations, is the ranking member of the President's cabinet. He is next to the vice president in line of succession to the presidency.

Reorganization of Department

The secretary of state may be very influential in determining what our foreign policy is to be. In theory any action taken by the State Department must have the secretary's approval. He receives the representatives of foreign governments, attends international conferences, prepares treaties and agreements with foreign powers, and takes all necessary steps to assist the President in knowing and dealing with any problems which may arise in our intercourse with other nations.

The reorganization which has been taking place in the department since January, 1944, under the direction of Mr. Stettinius, now secretary of state, divides its operations into eight general groupings. Six of them are under

assistant secretaries, one under the department's legal adviser, Green H. Hackworth, and another under Leo Pasvolsky, who advises on international organization and security. Both Hackworth and Pasvolsky rank with the assistant secretaries. The heads of these eight groups, together with the undersecretary, form a new Secretary's Staff Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Stettinius, which deals with policy and postwar problems.

The undersecretaryship will remain much the same as it has been since 1919 when it was established. This position is now held by Joseph C. Grew, our last diplomatic representative in Japan. He is chief assistant to the secretary of state and will work with him in directing the department. He, more than anyone else, keeps in constant personal touch with the foreign diplomatic corps. As usual, the choice for this office was a man of wide diplomatic experience within the department.

The one assistant secretary who remained when former Secretary Hull left was Dean Acheson. During four years in the State Department he has become familiar with its problems and will serve as liaison with Congress and be in charge of international conferences.

The four geographic divisions into which the State Department's operations were formerly divided will be regrouped and James C. Dunn, an experienced department official, will be assistant secretary in charge of affairs pertaining to all countries excepting the Americas, while Nelson Rockefeller, for the last four years Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, will head the section dealing with American republics.

The new assistant secretary in charge of foreign economic affairs, William L. Clayton, is a millionaire Texas cotton trader, known in many parts of the world through the operation of his firm, Anderson, Clayton and Company. He has held several important posts in the financial agencies

of the government since 1940, including Deputy Federal Loan Administrator, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and Surplus War Property Administrator.

To administer the State Department's new activities in the fields of public and cultural relations, which may be the instrument for giving the people of the United States and the world a much wider understanding of our relations with other nations, the former Librarian of Congress, Archibald MacLeish, has been chosen. Through the press and radio, and by conference with leaders of civic groups and educational institutions, Mr. MacLeish may not only further public interest in, and knowledge of, foreign affairs, but also arrange for the exchange of scientific, technical, and professional knowledge among the people of all nations with which we maintain diplomatic relations.

For the more purely administrative post of assistant secretary in charge of management of the Department of State and the foreign service, the President has appointed Brigadier General Julius C. Holmes, a Kansan, who has wide experience in the diplomatic service, although recently he has served as deputy chief of staff for civil affairs in the European theater under General Eisenhower.

Range of Activities

The legal adviser, Mr. Hackworth, and Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson have no administrative duties beyond those already described, but the five remaining assistant secretaries and the special assistant, Mr. Pasvolsky, share the responsibility of administering 12 special offices, each headed by a director particularly fitted to enable his office to advise on the matters assigned to it. The activities of these offices range from investigation into worldwide transportation and communication facilities, through economic affairs generally, special geographical area problems, public relations and political problems, to purely administrative functions.

The 12 office directors and the secretary's special assistant in charge of press relations make up a coordinating committee, under the chairmanship of the undersecretary of state, which has been created to develop recommendations on current and long-range problems and inter-office relations which may be referred to it by the secretary of state, the undersecretary, or the Secretary's Staff Committee.

The reorganization which has taken place has been largely within the departmental staff, which includes all the officers and employees of the State

Department who work in the United States. The foreign service, which has its own officers, and a separate administrative organization under the assistant secretary in charge of administration, includes the diplomatic and consular officers and the staff members of our embassies, legations, and consulates throughout the world.

Although there is some overlapping in the functions of the diplomatic service and the consular service, the diplomatic officers, usually stationed in foreign capitals, have broader duties than have the consular officers, who are stationed in consulates in all large commercial centers and whose interest is chiefly, although not exclusively, in commercial and economic affairs. Besides serving his government as a business adviser and agent, the consular officer may visa passports for foreigners who wish to travel in the United States, or even be called upon to serve as a witness at a marriage ceremony in which one of the participants is an American citizen.

In the past, ambassadors and ministers, the two highest ranking diplomatic officers, have been appointed by the President, usually from his own political party and as payment of political debts. Since the merit system has been in force, however, "career" men, who have worked their way up through the foreign service, have more frequently been appointed to the top positions. The old idea that only a wealthy and socially prominent man could hope to become an important diplomatic representative is gradually being overcome.

In the operation of the State Department as a whole, the departmental staff serves as a reservoir of information necessary to effective handling of our foreign affairs. It is the heart of the department. Into it flow reports from the eyes and ears of the organization, the diplomatic and consular services. The reports may concern political and economic conditions in foreign countries, violations of the rights and property of American citizens abroad, suggestions for action in particular instances, ideas for creating good will and understanding between various foreign countries and the United States, or warnings of trends which are inimical to our interests.

Upon the reliability and thoroughness of these reports and the action taken upon them depends the effectiveness of our foreign policy. For this reason, it is of the greatest importance that the most capable and thoroughly trained men available be selected not only for service in the department in this country but for the diplomatic and consular positions as well. In the

future even more than in the past, much will depend upon the ability of our representatives abroad to see and interpret the events occurring around them, for our interests will spread to many new fields which these men must cover.

Too often in the past, more accurate reports and interpretations from the trouble centers of the world have come from newspaper correspondents than from foreign service representatives of the government. Again, the reports which have come into the State Department in Washington from diplomatic and consular agents in the field have not always received the attention they deserved.

Criticisms Made

As a matter of fact, one of the criticisms most frequently leveled at the State Department is that it has frequently failed to act upon the suggestions made by our ambassadors in foreign capitals. There are many people in this country who feel that had such reports and warnings been made public, we might have been able to adopt a foreign policy which would have helped to achieve world unity against aggressor nations.

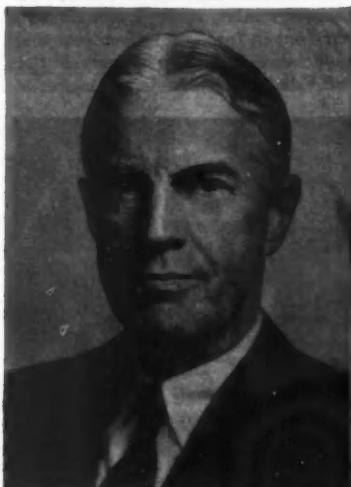
Secretary Stettinius has indicated his intention to encourage public knowledge of State Department problems and foreign affairs. If he pursues such a course, the secrecy which has surrounded the department for many years will disappear and the people of the United States will have even greater democratic responsibility in their relations with the rest of the world.

So far the changes which have been made have been in the fields of method and procedure rather than in policy. The personnel changes in high offices have not been of a startling nature. Mr. Stettinius is approaching the task at hand like the successful business executive he was in private industry, by first modernizing his plant and "retooling" in order to produce his new product with maximum efficiency.

Further reorganization will take place in the future, according to Mr. Stettinius, who contemplates doubling the personnel of the departmental staff. Infusion of new blood into the department has been regarded by many observers as an encouraging sign that the traditional conservatism of the organization will be overcome and that the new and important problems in our foreign relations will be dealt with more efficiently. What happens in the State Department in the coming months will be of great importance to the entire nation.



Joseph C. Grew



William L. Clayton



Dean Acheson



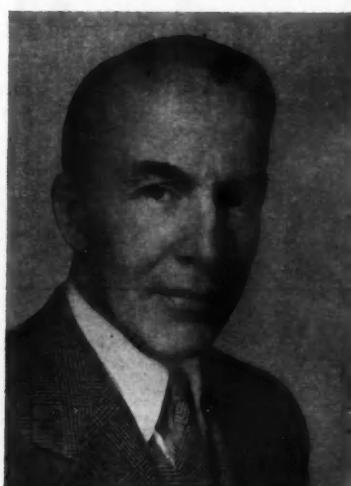
Nelson A. Rockefeller



James C. Dunn



Julius C. Holmes



Archibald MacLeish

The Story of the Week

The Nazis Strike Back

While it is still too early to estimate the full significance of the German counterattack on the western front, it is clear that our forces have come up against the most important enemy action attempted since D-Day. The German drive, under Marshal von Rundstedt, involves a vital sector of the front—the area between the Cologne plain and the Saar basin—and has brought into action greater enemy strength than was thought available.

The Allies, handicapped by extended supply lines and weather too bad to permit full use of their superior air power, have been faced by more than a dozen crack German divisions. The hoarded remains of the Luftwaffe have come out in force. And our rear lines have been disrupted by parachutists and V-bombs. More rocket projectiles



Field Marshal von Rundstedt

have fallen on our troops along the western front in the course of this counterattack than were dropped on England at the height of the bombing offensive last fall.

In launching this drive, the Nazis have had several objectives. Their first consideration has been the need to halt our advance before it reached the industrial areas of the Rhineland, Ruhr, and Saar. A second factor is the likelihood of a major Russian offensive in the east. After a period of relative inaction, the Red Army is reported mobilized around the Baltic states and Poland. The fall of Budapest, expected momentarily, will open

the way for a drive to Vienna and the complete disruption of Germany's southern defenses. Expecting the Russians to wait until colder weather provides frozen ground for the maneuvering of armored units, the Germans gambled on the possibility of giving us a serious setback in the west before being themselves menaced in the east.

Although it is admitted that the German advances in Luxembourg and Belgium have been costly for us, Allied leaders still believe they may be turned into advantages for our side. If the attacking forces can be decisively defeated, we may so disorganize the enemy as to make further large-scale action impossible.

Home Front Restrictions

A new series of home front restrictions, made necessary by recent military setbacks in Europe, came in with the new year for the American people. Designed to conserve critical materials and to add to the supply of manpower, they affect industry, sports, food, and transportation.

By order of James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization and Reconstruction, horse racing is now banned throughout the nation. Byrnes has also ordered Selective Service to review the draft status of all professional athletes. As a further manpower-saving device, he has threatened to withhold critical materials, fuel, transportation, and rationed goods from employers who violate regulations on the number of workers they may hire. In carrying out Byrnes' program, the War Manpower Commission will review manufacturers' labor needs and order the release of workers wherever surpluses are found.

Food rationing rules, which were considerably eased in the last six months, have been tightened again. Ration points validated before December 1 are no longer good, and most unrationed meats and processed foods have been returned to the ration list. The crackdown on transportation involves a drastic cut in civilian tire allocations. This month's tire quotas fall 200,000 below the December level for passenger cars and 64,000 for small trucks and buses.

The GOP Looks Ahead

Now that the furore over elections has died down, the defeated Republican party is preparing to reorganize for the future. The GOP, under the leadership of former candidate Governor Thomas E. Dewey and National Committee Chairman Herbert Brownell, will meet in Indianapolis this month to frame a program of constructive criticism of the Roosevelt administration and active campaigning in the 1946 congressional elections.

Dewey and Brownell believe the scope of party activities between elections should be enlarged and propose that the national committee chairmanship be made a full-time job. Whether Brownell will continue as chairman on this basis is not yet decided. But in whatever form party strategy emerges, Republican leaders are convinced that a large percentage of the American people can be won over to their point of view. They are encouraged by the fact that Dewey lost



The great German counteroffensive

the presidency by the narrowest popular vote margin of any candidate since 1916.

New Hungarian Regime

A new provisional government has been added to the list of those already functioning in the liberated parts of Europe. Under Russian leadership, citizens of the freed areas of Hungary have elected a national assembly which has in turn chosen a premier, a president and two vice presidents for the country. General Bela Miklos heads the cabinet as premier. Bela Zede, a university professor, is the new president, and Kalman Santo and Dr. Sandor Yuhadin, professor and reform church leader respectively, are the vice presidents. According to reports from Moscow, the Assembly represents liberal and radical political parties, trade unions, and partisan committees.

Denouncing the Nazi-sponsored Hungarian government of Premier

Szalasi, the newly formed Assembly calls for an immediate armistice with the Allies, war against the Germans, and cooperation with the United Nations. It also promises early land reforms and new economic opportunities for the long oppressed peasants.

Since Hungary has been a German satellite throughout the war, it has, of course, maintained no government-in-exile. There is, however, a Hungarian Council in Britain, dedicated to United Nations victory and democratic government in Hungary. This group, under the leadership of Count Michael Karolyi, premier and president of Hungary after the last war until he was overthrown by a short-lived Communist revolution, has endorsed most of the policies of the provisional government.

Sicilian Separatism

Among the many problems facing the Italian government one of the most serious is Sicily. For some time now, this island off the toe of the Italian boot has been shaken by acute political upheaval. To a great extent, the people's dissatisfaction with their economic and political lot has been channeled into a movement for independence from the rest of Italy.

Representatives of both the conservative aristocracy and the radical peasants and workers groups are behind this movement. The rich landowners believe that in an independent Sicily under British protection their property would be safeguarded. Peasants and workers, feeling that the central government of Italy has always neglected their interests, believe they would gain new economic advantages from independence.

The government of Premier Bonomi is making a determined effort to quiet public discontent and put down the separatist movement. Bonomi has announced a new plan for permitting greater self-government in Sicily. Under his plan, Sicily is to be ruled



IN THE SAAR. An LVT (Landing Vehicle, Track) moves down a street in the German city of Saarlaurnen. The LVT, used with considerable success in the Pacific, is now appearing in the European theater.

by a high commissioner with the help of an advisory board on which unions, the six major political parties, and local civic groups will be represented. Bonomi has also conceded to public demand by promising local elections in the near future.

Challenge to the WLB

As we go to press, an unsettled labor dispute is once more testing the government's wartime power. The issue is the refusal of Sewell Avery, chairman of the board of Montgomery Ward and Company, to comply with a War Labor Board order affecting the wages and union membership requirements of Ward employees.

The Board has directed the company to adjust substandard pay rates and to provide for maintenance of union membership among its workers. Claiming that there is no law requiring obedience to WLB orders, Avery has flatly refused to comply. The result has been a series of strikes in a number of Ward plants.

The government has several possible courses of action in this situation. It may cancel the company's priorities and deny it essential materials. Or, it may order seizure of the entire company. Last April, when Montgomery Ward disregarded a WLB directive calling for extension of an expired union contract, the President had the plant seized. Chairman Avery, refusing to leave, was carried from his office by two soldiers. This time, there is hope that Avery will authorize a concession on the question of wages. On compulsory union membership, however, he is still determined to hold his ground.

Bombsights

The Norden bombsight is well known as one of America's most vital weapons—an extraordinarily effective device to assure precision in bombing. Recently, however, it came into the news in another connection, as the government brought charges of fraud against the company manufacturing it.

Officials of the Norden corporation, along with a naval inspector and an engineering firm, were indicted by a federal grand jury for withholding information about the bombsight from



OUR ROBOT BOMB. Jet propulsion engines for robot bombs that will be used against the Germans are now rolling off the assembly lines of the Ford Motor Company at Dearborn, Michigan.

ACME

other companies commissioned to manufacture it. The government charged that, in order to keep its monopoly control of this highly important instrument, the Norden corporation had permitted other manufacturers making the bombsight to use inaccurate plans and turn out inferior products and had then used the rejection of these instruments to discredit the other companies.

Although Norden officials have denied all of the government's charges, the case has not yet been settled. Strong government action against the company is expected unless the charges can be disproved. It has been pointed out that the inventor of the bombsight, Carl L. Norden, is not involved in the present charges, having severed all connection with the Norden firm.

The Argentine Problem

The determination of the United States and the Latin American nations to find a solution for the Argentine problem was evidenced recently in the calling of two new inter-American conferences. Mexico has called a meeting of all hemisphere foreign ministers, to be held some time in the next few months, and Secretary of State Stet-

tinius has invited the Latin American ambassadors to confer with him in Washington at the same time. From both conferences, representatives of the present Argentine government are excluded.

While delegates to these meetings will discuss general postwar problems, the big issue to be settled is Argentina. Presumably, the assembled foreign ministers and ambassadors will either map out a course of concerted action with regard to Argentina or plan further meetings where the matter can be settled.

Argentina, meanwhile, has been making elaborate efforts to extricate herself from a situation in which she stands alone against a relatively united continent. The government of General Edelmiro Farrell has repeatedly asked for a hemisphere conference at which Argentina might defend her position of non-cooperation with the Allies.

At home, the government's policies have been equally reflective of uneasiness at the situation. On the one hand, the country's military forces are being strengthened through stringent new conscription rules involving all men from 12 to 50 and girls from 12 to 20. On the other, there has been some nominal softening of the dictatorship. The

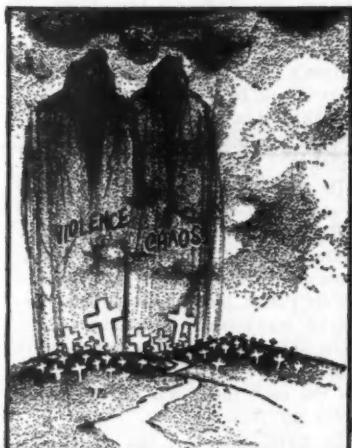
government promises that a popular election will soon be held and has taken steps to reintroduce a system of political parties.

War Balance Sheet

Figures as large as \$235 billion are so far beyond anything in our day-to-day experience as to be almost meaningless. And yet, \$225 billion represents the money cost of the war for this country since Pearl Harbor.

But while the war took its heavy toll of our money and goods, it was also adding greatly to the national income—the value of all the earnings of all individuals obtained through participation in production, either as workers, employers, or investors. In 1939, before the defense program was under way, our national income was only \$70.8 billion dollars. In 1943, it was \$147.9 billions, and last year it reached the unprecedented total of \$159 billion dollars.

Similarly, the national product, or total value of goods and services produced, has risen astronomically because of the war. In 1939, it was \$88.6 billion dollars; last year \$197 billions. War purchases accounted for \$8 billions of this sum. Consumer spending—at an all-time high—absorbed another \$96 billions, while governmental non-war spending took \$13 billions. The rest was taken up in spending for private construction and other purposes.



WEBER IN CHICAGO SUN

SMILES

"Do you believe in Buddha?"
"Yes, but I think oleomargarine is just as good."

★ ★ ★
"What do we have to eat tonight?"
"Oh, a little bit of everything."
"What exactly do you mean?"
"I mean soup."

★ ★ ★
Housewife: "Who broke that dish?"
New Maid: "The cat, ma'am."
Housewife: "The cat? What cat?"
New Maid: "My goodness, haven't you got one?"

★ ★ ★
"How's life treating you?"
"Well, I've only two complaints—I have to wake up to eat, and I have to stop eating to sleep."

★ ★ ★
Farmer: "I sold twenty head of cattle yesterday."
City guy: "What did you do with their bodies?"

★ ★ ★
"Say, Paul, aren't you going to play this afternoon?"
"Nope, I've got to stay in and help Dad with my homework."

★ ★ ★
The girl asked to have two books checked out of the library.
"Did you know that these books are exactly alike," asked the librarian.
"Sure," replied the girl, "but I'm going to read the story twice."



HERBLOCK IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

Questions from the News

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Pronunciations

Edelmiro Farrell—eh-del-mee'-roe fahr-ell'

Luftwaffe—loof'-vah-fuh

von Rundstedt—fon' roont'stet



GREEK TRAGEDY. Funeral procession for victims of the civil war which has been raging for more than a month

Issues Dividing Allies

(Concluded from page 1)

Britain, and France. The Allies decided that Poland should be reconstituted as a nation. One of President Wilson's Fourteen Points was that there should be an independent Poland and that it should possess all lands where the population was indisputably Polish.

It was hard, however, to draw boundary lines including undisputed Polish populations, as the Poles were badly scattered. There was a region around Warsaw which was almost wholly Polish, but farther out the population was mixed. To the west there were some communities which were Polish and some which were German. To the east there was a mixture of Poles and Russians.

In 1919, however, the Allied Supreme Council suggested as a basis of negotiation between Poland and Russia the Curzon Line which figures prominently in the present dispute. This line was named after Lord Curzon, the British foreign secretary, who supervised the drawing of it.

The Allied Council felt that the Curzon Line gave to the new Poland the territories where the population was predominantly Polish and it left to Russia the territories where the Russians predominated. It was recognized, at the time, however, as it must still be recognized, that no line can satisfy everybody in a highly mixed area.

When the Curzon Line was drawn by the Allies in 1919, the Poles refused to accept it. Russia at that time was in the midst of a revolution and was relatively weak. The Polish government made war upon the weakened Russians and pushed them far back. In 1921 they compelled the defeated Russians to sign the Treaty of Riga which established a boundary much to the east of the Curzon Line.

This territory east of the Curzon Line is now in dispute between Russia and Poland. Russia insists that the Curzon Line should be the approximate boundary. There is no way of knowing what the majority of the Pol-

ish people think about it, for most of them are living under the harsh rule of the Germans and have no way of expressing their views. However, the Polish government-in-exile, consisting of many of the leaders who fled to London when the country was overrun by Germany, claims the Riga Line as the Polish-Russian boundary.

The disputed territory in area is about the size of Kansas. It contains about one-third of the population of prewar Poland, but this population is not all, and probably not chiefly, Polish. Certain communities are mainly Polish, others are Russian, and a few are German. Before the war, it was estimated that in this section of Poland there lived 5,274,000 Poles, 4,529,000 Ukrainians (the Ukraine is a part of Russia), 1,123,000 White Russians, and 1,109,000 Jews, together with several smaller groups.

Russia claims the disputed territory on several grounds: (a) Historical. This whole region was a part of Russia for more than 100 years previous to World War I. (b) Legal. The Curzon Line was drawn by impartial authorities—the Allied Council—after the First World War. (c) Ethnical. The population of the territory is more Russian than Polish. (d) Strategic. Russia needs this territory as a defense against Germany. The Germans passed through it during World War I and World War II on their way to Russia. If it is in the hands of a relatively weak power like Poland, it may be used as a springboard for future attacks upon Russia.

The Poles argue: (a) that the territory was recognized as Polish from 1920 until World War II. (b) They dispute the Russian claim that the country is inhabited by more Russians than Poles. (c) The territory is needed by Poland if it is to become a strong independent power.

The Russian government claims that it wants Poland to be strong and independent and friendly to Russia. It promises that if the Poles concede the disputed area to Russia, the loss will

be made up by giving a part of East Prussia, a section of Germany, and other German territory, to Poland. This would be a large addition to Polish territory and it would give the Polish people access to the sea.

The British government agrees to support Russia's claim. It advises the Polish government-in-exile to accept the Russian terms. It supports the Russian proposal to give German territory to Poland, and promises that the German population of East Prussia will be moved to Germany, making room for Poles.

The British government accepts it as a fact that the Russians are now in possession of the disputed territory and that they intend to keep it. There is no way for the British to get them out, except by making war on Russia, which would be unthinkable. Prime Minister Churchill and his government think that the war can be won only with Russian assistance, and that this concession to Russia must be made in order to insure full Russian cooperation and victory over Germany.

The position of the United States, together with issues concerning, our policy, are described elsewhere in this paper.

Greece: Before the war Greece was ruled by a dictatorship which was harsh and undemocratic. This government was approved and supported by King George. It was opposed by a large part of the population.

When the Germans conquered Greece, the government fled; first to London and then to Cairo. When the war took a more favorable turn to the Allies, it was agreed by Russia, and apparently by the United States, that the British should have the job of freeing Greece from the Germans.

When the Germans were driven out, the British brought back the government-in-exile. Their motives in doing this seemed to have been mixed.

The old government, though undemocratic, was also anti-communistic and it was friendly to Great Britain. The British feel that it is necessary that governments friendly to them be maintained all along the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean is the route through which they must travel to India and the Far East. It is called the life-line of the British Empire. The British government insists, therefore, that a government friendly to England be set up. The British could depend upon the old government. They did not know how friendly the more radical elements which opposed that government would be if they came into power.

The British also wanted stability in Greece. They wanted a government

strong enough to put down disorder and to cooperate in distributing supplies to the starving Greek people. They did not want revolution and disturbance at their back while they were fighting the Germans.

The British, therefore, put the old government into power, but promised that as soon as possible, elections would be held so that the Greeks could have the kind of government they wanted. The opponents of the old government were afraid, however, that if they surrendered their arms as they were ordered to do, the old government would stay in power and that their liberties could not be won.

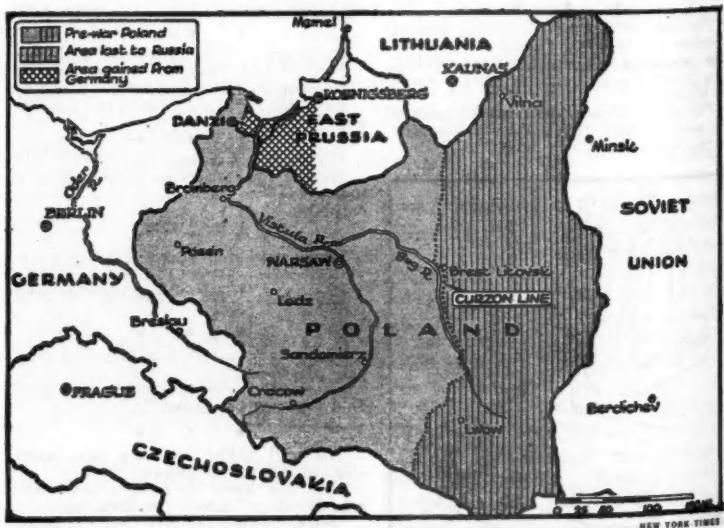
These opponents of the old government refused, therefore, to put down their arms, and they undertook by armed force to seize control. The British then entered into the fray to support the government and have engaged in armed conflict with the Greek opponents of the government which had been set up.

Italy: After southern and central Italy, including Rome, had been conquered, the Allies permitted the Italians of the liberated area to set up a government. They did not, of course, adopt a hands-off policy. They would

not have permitted the people of Italy to set up a government which was hostile to the Allies, or which would not cooperate fully with them in their war against the Germans. They did, however, grant a considerable measure of freedom. A few weeks ago, a question arose as to how much freedom the Italians should have in setting up a government. An attempt was made by Italian leaders to form a cabinet with Count Carlo Sforza as premier. Count Sforza was an opponent of fascism who had resided in the United States for many years before Italy was liberated. After liberation he returned to Italy.

When it was proposed that Count Sforza be made premier, the British government declared that it opposed his taking office, and he was not permitted to do so. The British argued that he could not be trusted to cooperate fully with the Allies.

Opponents of the British government's action said that this was another case of Britain's trying to get her friends in power in the Mediterranean area. They argued that the British were favorable to the Italian monarchy, that they wished to establish Prince Humbert as king, feeling that he would support British interests. Sforza was known as an opponent of monarchy. The position of the United States in this matter is discussed in another article in this paper.



Proposed partition of Poland



SHARP IN N. Y. TIMES MAGAZINE

American interests in the postwar world may be as extensive as its military contributions toward liberation

America's Future Policy in Europe

(Continued from page 1)

the kind of world which is likely to remain at peace. We have declared that we are trying to establish conditions under which all disputes among nations may be settled by peaceful means. Would it not be a dangerous thing, even while the war is going on, to give our approval to a policy of settling such disputes by force?

The other policy our State Department might have adopted was the idealistic one. We could have condemned Russian aggression. We might have declared that all disputes should be settled by peaceful agreement or by arbitration. We could have said that all such disputes should wait for settlement until after the war is over, and an organization of nations has been effected.

An argument against such a policy is that, as a practical consequence, it might result in great harm to the war effort. It might mean that we would lose Russian support and then lose the war with Germany. If that should happen, we would not be in a position to exert any influence whatever toward the establishment of a peaceful world. We would be merely making a pious declaration which we would lack the power to put into effect.

As a matter of fact, the State Department announced a policy which is a compromise between these two extremes. Secretary of State Stettinius said that, in the opinion of our government, the settlement of disputes between the United Nations should be postponed until the war is over. Then they should be decided, not by force, but by peaceful negotiation.

Up to that point, the State Department was siding with Poland, but the secretary of state went on to say that if any of the United Nations could settle disputes peaceably while the war was going on, we would not oppose such settlements. Poland was promised specifically that if she agreed to the Russian terms, the United States

(provided Congress approved) would help to move the Germans out of East Prussia so that the Poles could take their places. We would also help to feed the hungry in Poland and to establish normal conditions. This seems to have been a definite invitation to the Poles to enter into conversation with Russia and, if possible, to come to an agreement. It could be interpreted as a suggestion to them that they should accept the Russian terms and then receive compensation by getting German territory.

With respect to the troubles in Italy and Greece, the American State Department opposes the courses adopted by the British. It says that the United States wants the people of Italy to be permitted to form the sort of government they want. It has no objection to Count Sforza's holding office in that country.

Of course, we would oppose any efforts of the Italians to form a government that would not cooperate with us in carrying on the war, but so long as they cooperate, we want them to have a free hand. This means that the United States and Great Britain are not in agreement about the extent of control which should be exercised over the Italian government.

Our State Department says that the policy of allowing peoples to form their own governments applies even more forcibly to nations which are our Allies than to nations such as Italy, which have been our enemies. This means that we oppose intervention in Greece.

It should be noted that while our government regrets the fact that Russia has taken over a disputed area from Poland by force, and that Great Britain has interfered with the setting up of a cabinet in Italy, and that the British are protecting one faction in Greece by force, it has taken no action other than to express its views. It has not undertaken to upset any of

the arrangements which our Allies have made.

Meanwhile, bitter controversy rages in Congress and in the press of the nation. One very popular point of view may be expressed in this way:

"Great Britain and Russia, without waiting until the end of the war, are carving out spheres of influence for themselves. Russia is taking over a part of Poland. She is setting up governments favorable to herself in the Balkans. She undoubtedly expects to bring the Baltic states under her influence. Great Britain is setting up friendly governments in Italy and Greece. Her sphere of influence is the Mediterranean."

"It appears, therefore, that our Allies are not putting their faith in a United Nations organization to preserve the peace and establish justice. They are dividing the world among themselves, giving no consideration to the rights or wishes of small nations. If this policy continues, the war will lose much of its meaning and the stage will be set for rivalry among nations and for future wars."

The following arguments are frequently heard in support of a different point of view:

"Abuse of our Allies because of what they have done is unjustified. They are really working for interests which we ought to support. Russia is putting herself in a position to combat attacks which might come from Germany in the future. We should be glad to see her doing this. If there is war in the next generation, it will probably be started by Germany, and we will be obliged to oppose that country as we are doing now. We will be far better off if the Russians, who will also probably be in opposition to Germany, are in a good position to repel her attacks."

"The English are seeking to strengthen themselves in the Mediterranean area, and we should be

glad to see them do this. For the second time in less than 30 years, we find ourselves fighting alongside England. If another war should break out, it is almost certain that we and England will be on the same side. We should be glad, therefore, to see her strengthen, for her strength in time of war will make us stronger."

"It would be foolish to do as we did after the First World War. Then we completely forgot who our potential friends and enemies were. We did all that we could to get our Allies to disarm. We even passed embargo acts, making it impossible to trade with them in case they got into war. We thus weakened our own side, while allowing the Japanese and the Germans to become so strong that they almost overwhelmed us."

"It may be argued that Russia and Great Britain should not be thinking of strengthening themselves for future wars. They should depend on a new peace organization to protect their interests. Such an organization, however, has not been formed, and it is by no means certain that the United States will join it and will furnish armies and navies to help enforce its decrees. We should support a strong organization of nations, but meanwhile, it is inevitable that our great Allies should be preparing to take care of themselves if the German menace should arise again, and if such organization as may be established should not be strong enough to accomplish that task."

Recent events have made one fact clear, and that is that all postwar international problems cannot wait for settlement until the war is over. When any country is conquered or liberated, the Allies have to make quick decisions. They must see to it that a government which can maintain order is established. They must frequently decide between factions to

(Concluded on page 8, column 4)

What the Atlantic Charter Means

THERE has been much discussion lately about the Atlantic Charter. Some people are very much worried about it. There have been reports that it does not exist, and there have been charges that it has been violated by our Allies so that it no longer stands as the goal for which the war is being waged.

It is a fact that this Charter does not exist in the same sense that the Declaration of Independence or our Constitution does. It was not written out as a document, signed and sealed. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill simply met together, talked over the purposes of the two nations, wrote several notes setting forth these purposes, and then published these purposes to the world as the goals for which the United States and Great Britain were striving.

But the fact that the Atlantic Charter does not exist as a document does not mean that it does not exist. The statements made by the President and the Prime Minister have been preserved and are well known. There is no question as to the Charter's contents. It has been formally accepted as the goal or policy of all the United Nations.

On January 1, 1942, representatives of 26 United Nations accepted as their own "the common program of purposes and principles embodied in . . . the Atlantic Charter." Later other nations signed the United Nations' declaration. Up to the present, 35 nations have signed. Furthermore, the Atlantic Charter was accepted by Great Britain and Russia when they signed the "Treaty of Mutual Assistance" on May 26, 1943. It was accepted again in the declaration issued by Great Britain, Russia, China, and the United States in Moscow, on November 1, 1943. It, therefore, stands as the announced policy of the United Nations.

But what about the charge that the Charter has been so definitely violated by Great Britain and Russia that it has lost its force and meaning? Has Russia violated the first and second declarations by seizing and holding a part of prewar Poland, without the expressed consent of the Polish people?

Unquestionably, the Russians have taken this disputed territory by force. It would have been more in keeping with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter if they had waited for a final settlement until the end of the war. Then it would have been possible for the people of the region in dispute to vote on the question as to whether they wished to live under Russian or Polish rule. This procedure would have conformed to the second declaration. That is the policy which our State Department would have liked to see adopted.

The Russians claim, however, that they are not taking away the territory of another nation but are merely restoring to Russia land which has been hers all the time, but which was temporarily taken away from her by force.

Then there is the question as to whether Great Britain has violated the third declaration by her acts in Italy and Greece. She has interfered in both of these countries and has not given the Italians or the Greeks a free opportunity to establish their own governments as they see fit.

This may be a violation of the third declaration, but the case against Great Britain is not entirely clear. The

British insist that so long as the war is going on, disorder or unfriendliness to the Allies cannot be permitted behind the lines. Military necessity, they say, justifies them in preventing disorder and in seeing to it that friendly governments are maintained. They say that as soon as the war is over, they will see to it that the Italians and Greeks have an opportunity at free elections to decide how they should be governed.

It is the opinion of our State Department, and probably of most Amer-

ciples applied under all circumstances.

The signers of the Declaration of Independence declared that "all men are created equal." The American people accepted this declaration as their purpose and policy, and yet, at the very time the Declaration was written, there were slaves in America, and there were for many years thereafter. The spirit of the Declaration was thus violated but the people did not throw up their hands and say that the Declaration was a lie and no good.

Our Constitution, particularly the

men or nations. They do not realize how slow and difficult the march to higher ground is.

Despite violations here and there, we can still reaffirm our belief in the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter. We can try to get these principles adopted in all cases of dispute. We can use our influence to make the violations as few as possible. Of course, if there should be too many violations, if the principles of the Charter should be ignored time and again, the Charter itself would lose its power. That is why we must work untiringly to have these principles followed. We must hold the Charter up as a guide whenever a dispute among nations arises. We must see to it that our own country holds to the goals and long-range objectives it has helped to announce and which it is fighting to achieve.

We have reason today to be anxious about the Atlantic Charter, for there is danger that it may be frequently ignored in the making of the peace settlements. But there is no reason yet for cynicism or defeatism. The war has not lost its meaning. We can still make it a war for justice, freedom, and democracy.

U. S. Foreign Policy

(Concluded from page 7)

determine which one shall exercise authority. Not only must they assist into power governments which can maintain order, but they must support governments which are popular with the people. Otherwise, there will be revolution and disorder in these countries.

There have been certain indications that the United States and Great Britain intend to follow the practice of putting the old governments in power when they liberate the country—that is the government which was in power before the war. If this is done, the result may be very unfortunate, for some of these old governments were reactionary, some of them were dictatorships, some of them were extremely unpopular with the people. To keep them in power by force simply on the grounds that they could preserve order would be to stand in the way of the forces which are working for social progress.

Such a policy would be similar to that adopted by the victorious Allies after the defeat of Napoleon. A number of the Allied governments formed what was known as the "Holy Alliance." The purpose was to put down all revolutions and keep in power the old monarchies which had ruled before the Napoleonic Wars.

Some people felt that Great Britain and the United States were adopting a similar attitude when they recognized Admiral Darlan in northern France, when the United States, for a long time, opposed De Gaulle in France. Many see in the British support of the old Greek government and in British policy in Italy the signs of a similar policy.

It is the announced purpose of the United States and Great Britain, however, not to follow such a plan, but to see to it that as soon as possible after hostilities cease, all the liberated peoples have a chance to vote in free elections and establish the kind of governments they desire.



The Atlantic Charter



The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other; SECOND, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

THIRD, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

FOURTH, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

FIFTH, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security;

SIXTH, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

SEVENTH, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

EIGHTH, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

icans, that the spirit of the Atlantic Charter has been violated at certain points, but this does not mean that the Charter is dead, or that the principles which it embodies have no weight in the settlements which will follow the war.

The United Nations, in accepting the Atlantic Charter, set it forth as their goal. They said, in effect, that they wanted to see the policies announced in the Atlantic Charter adopted as a rule of conduct among nations. Unfortunately, however, the announcing of principles does not mean that all these principles will immediately be fully accepted and applied in all cases. Things never happen that way. In 1215, Magna Carta was given to the English people. It was a great document guaranteeing important liberties, but there were many violations of it. It took centuries of struggle to get those prin-

Bill of Rights, guarantees certain freedoms to the people of the United States. Among these are freedom of speech and press. There have been many violations of these guarantees. In many instances, peoples have been denied the right to speak or write freely, but we have not turned defeatist;

we have not cried out that the Constitution was no good. We have gone ahead accepting the rules which it sets forth as our goals, trying always to perfect our policies and bring them in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

When publicly announced policies are violated, there are always some people who quickly give up and say that those who announced the policies were hypocrites; that no good can come from the declaration of principles. These people do not understand the course of history. They have not learned how progress comes among

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